

★ The SUBSTANCE  
OF A LATE  
Conference,  
BETWEEN THE  
FRENCH KING,  
THE  
PRETENDER,  
And one of their best Friends,  
(Now in *England*). —

Wherein, as in a true Glass, every one (that is not wilfully blind) may, by plain Matters of Fact, discover the real Sentiments, Endeavours and Hopes, of the Enemies of her Sacred Majesty Queen ANN, the Protestant Religion, and the Happy Constitution of GREAT BRITAIN, with much more certainty, than if he had been personally present at their frequent Conference.

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*Suppos'd to be intercepted as it came from France.*

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Published by a Lover of Mankind in general, and of every Faithful Subject of Her Sacred Majesty's, in particular.

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Sach. 130/1

☞ **I** *F there be one now in England, that knows  
he has acted the Doctor's Part (tho' he  
may not remember his having been Personally in  
France of late ) he will be apt to say, I am not  
named, yet I know*

**I am the Man.**

*But if he be not touch'd upon a sore Place,  
( since he is not named ) he will not kick.*

THE SUBSTANCE  
Of a Late  
CONFERENCE

Between the *French King*, the  
*Pretender*, and one of his best  
Friends, &c.

*Lewis.* **D**EAR Doctor, we are glad to see you here  
with all our Heart ; Pray how fares it  
with the rest of our Friends in your  
Parts of the World ?

*Doctor.* We are all chagrin and disturb'd to the  
last Degree, tho' still firm to your Majesty's Interest,  
and to that of our beloved Master : Extremely uneasy  
we are, to find your Majesty so hard drove, as to be  
under a Necessity of making a Peace, before you can  
get better Terms for your Grandson, and for our  
rightful King, whom we thought we should have  
had restored long before this, by your powerful Assi-  
stance, and the Distractions we have been endeavour-  
ing to make in *Great Britain* to serve you both.

*James.* Good Doctor, We are wonderfully satis-  
fy'd and pleas'd with the faithful Services, you and  
the rest of our Friends have been doing us all along in  
those our Kingdoms; but our great Friend here, has  
had so many unfortunate Campaigns of late, that  
he cannot at present do for us what he would; and if  
he should continue the War, to restore us to our just  
Rights, it is possible ( now the Cards run so much  
against him ) he may thereby be incapacitated hereaf-  
ter

ter, from affording us that Assistance which he really intends ; therefore if by another Treaty, or some lucky Hit of Fortune this Summer, he can but secure such a Part of *Spain* for his Grandson, as he aims at ; we doubt not, when he has breath'd a while, he will be able again to seize upon that whole Kingdom, and then restore us to ours also : But, as our dear Father, ( now in Heaven ) has often assur'd us, when in such Circumstances, the greatest Service you and your Friends can do us in *England*, is to continue and encrease the Divisions among the Hereticks, and ( if possible ) to bring them to a War among themselves, and then we will come over, and with a little additional Strength from hence, joyn our Friends, and at once possess our self of our Dominions, before our Enemies can have any Assistance from their damn'd Brethren the *Scotch, Dutch, or Hannoverians*.

*Lewis*. But we have just now received secret Intelligence from *Great Britain*, from no ordina'y Hand, ( and a hearty Friend of ours ) that maugre all that has been done to divide them, there is still a good Understanding between the *Low Church-men* there, and those call'd the *Phanaticks*, ( who are both our irreconcilable Enemies ) that unless we can find some further ways to deceive and bring over more of the *low Church*, to joyn with our true Friends, the *Catholicks* and *High Church-men*, you will not be able to gain your Point, without a much greater Assistance from us than we can suddenly afford you ; therefore if the Doctor and we, can agree upon some further proper Expedients to ferment, divide and embroil them, so as that there may be pretty near a Ballance in *England*, when an open Rupture shall happen, we will at that Instant send you over to your Friends with a small Force ; but yet such as shall be sufficient to turn the Scales on your Side ; and when once you are restored, the Hereticks will find it a difficult Task to turn you out ; having so many true Friends there already, who now have the Courage, and will then more securely and universally make it their Care to preach Damination to any that shall

shall resist the King upon any Pretence whatever; which, tho' it be even at this Time an excellent Doctrine, to set the Hearts of your Subjects against the present Possessor; yet, when it has once restored you (their rightful King) to your Dominions, we cannot advise you too far to trust those that preach it; but only such of them as you know are thoroughly of the truly *Roman* Communion: For *High-Church*, by pretending to your dear Father, that it was their unalterable Opinion, and a Doctrine which they always glory'd in, as having ever been the true Characteristick of the *Church of England* (tho' all *Europe* knows it never was so of that Church they call Protestant, since their unnatural Revolt from their holy Mother): They deceiv'd him, and that Doctrine (by Accident) was the Occasion of his Ruin: For he believing they would be true to their pompous Profession, made too many large and hasty Steps to accomplish his glorious Designs; and thereby pinching some of the *High-Church*, that were not wholly of his Mind in the Matters of Religion, and were apprehensive they should lose their great Posts in the Church, to make room for some of our Priests. They that had valued themselves for preaching this Doctrine before, resisted him with a Vengeance, upon a Pretence that he was overturning their Constitution, forsooth, and acting directly contrary to Law and his Coronation-Oath, as they call it in their Cant; as if Kings (whom they own'd, could do no Wrong, and were accountable to none but God) were now, all of a sudden, bound by Laws and Oaths.

We mention these things to you, that you may observe and avoid the Rocks he split on; fortho' you may make Use of the *Hereticks* to get into the *Throne*, yet when once you are well settled in it, trust neither them nor their Doctrines; for by long Experience we have found it the best Way to convert or destroy them, and those few Converts that we have made here, are not to be trusted neither, but still we reckon it our Glory, that none dare openly own they differ from their *Sovereign*  
in

in Matters of Religion: However at first, make not more Hast than good Speed; be content for a while to let the People have a Share in the Government, according to their present Constitution, 'till we can send you more Help; but endeavour to please and promote the *High Church-men* on every Occasion; and in every thing, make them (for the present) absolute in the Church; and it will tickle them so, that they will (upon that Condition) continually preach Damnation to all that deny your being absolute in the State: And when the Priests have once brought your People (like ours) to believe them in all they say, you may soon make your self what you please, and model the Church afterwards to your own Mind, as we have done that in *France* to ours; and then what can hinder our united Force, from giving *Laws* to all the *World*?

*Doctor.* Your Majesty and my beloved Master are certainly in the Right: But for the present I would be glad to have your Opinion, what is proper further to to be done. I and the rest of our Friends in *England*, have hitherto, both by preaching and printing, done all we could think of (with any Safety to our selves) to set the Hereticks together by the Ears. And after the Nation was in a Ferment, we got the Mob to pull down the Dissenters Meeting-Houses, and thought that would have engaged them to Blows, or at least to have made Reprizals on the Churches, by pulling down or defacing some of them: But the Dissenters saw thro' our Design therein, and they (contrary to all our Expectations) bore it patiently, and let it alone to the Government to protect them: These Dissenters (as well as the *Low Church-men*) openly profess, they have not such a Regard to lineal Descent, Proximity of Blood, and divine Right of Kings, as we would perswade them they ought to have; but will disown any Prince that is for destroying their Heresy, and altering their Constitution into an absolute Monarchy, notwithstanding it be for all their Goods: Nay, altho' they should see such a King come out of the Heavens to 'em, with his Commission to rule over them, and

( 7 )  
and to entail his Crown to his eldest Sons and Daughters : But if they can have a King or *Queen* that will rule them according to their *Laws*, they are as zealous for such a Prince, as if he were lineally descended.

We are perswaded, tho' they believe that our dear Master was only the adopted Son of our late glorious and immortal (yet unfortunate) King *James*, and of his blessed Queen, tho' *High Church* believe the contrary, and it remains proved upon their Records, that you are really the Son of the Queen's Body, and tho' this was a Trick put upon them ; yet if you had been but a Heretick, and their Parliament had made you their King (to keep out a good Catholick lineally and immediately descended from their Kings) they would now have been as zealous for you, as they were for their late, and are now for the present Possessor. For they have such an implacable Aversion to the true *Roman Catholick Religion*, with an absolute Monarchy, and are so fond of what they call the Reformation, with a mix'd Monarchy, that they will hazard all that's dear to 'em in the World, to keep out the former and preserve the latter. I have for many Years (under the Disguise of a *High Church-Heritick*, wherein I have been always capable of doing your Majesties the most Service) observ'd the Temper of the *English Hereticks* ; and find I can do little good upon any of them, except those that hate their damnable Societies for *Reformation of Manners*, and such are easily perswaded to believe the Difference between the *Church* and the *Dissenters* is much greater than it is : Therefore it has been all along my Study, and the Endeavours of the rest of our Friends in *England*, to run down that Society, and to widen the Differences among the *Hereticks*, by proposing an Accomodation between the Church of *England* and that of *France*, representing the present Differences between them as very small ; but the Difference between the Church of *England* and the *Pharisees* to be very great ; tho' in Reality between *Low-Church* (establish'd in the Times of their Heretical Princes) and those call'd *Presbyterians*, there is no Difference,

ference, except a little in their Discipline, and in a few insignificant Ceremonies: For in those noble Ceremonies, that should distinguish them to be of our true *High Church* of *England*, established in the Reigns of our *Catholick* Princes, and which indeed no Power on Earth could alter; I say, these Ceremonies, both *Low-Church* and *Phanaticks*, are agreed to reject utterly; and even those few Ceremonies we have prevail'd with them to continue, yet they often (to our great Mortification) declare, that they do not use them to the End we do. — I have industriously and with a seeming Zeal for their Security, perswaded abundance to believe themselves in Danger from the present Possessor, the *Low-Church* and the *Dissenters*; and this has taken with many, tho' the Hereticks have no other Friends in *England*; and could we make them more distrust, and effectually weaken one another, we should soon be too hard for them all; but if the wicked Designs of a Comprehension and Reformation be not spoil'd, our Cause will sink, and it will for ever be in vain for us to attempt a Restoration. In Order to obtain the noble Ends we have propos'd to our selves, I have advis'd all our Friends to insinuate into the *Church-folks*, the Danger they are in of losing their Employments by the *Possessor's* Toleration of the *Dissenters*; telling them that there is no such thing as a Law for the Toleration, 'tis only a legal Impunity to Consciences truly scrupulous, and that there is not one of them truly so; for their Pretences to Conscience is only a Cloak for their Obstinacy, and even this being pleasant, is taken for Gospel, because it comes from me. I observe this Argument about their Employments prevails more than any thing else I can say, and I knew this would move abundance, where that of Religion (in reallity) signifies nothing at all with them; only the Pretence of the Church's Danger serves to hide the other, which would not appear well alone. I have privately advis'd others to do all they can to get this present Parliament dissolv'd, who if they had sat a little longer would have ruin'd

Our Cause, and therefore I have order'd our Friends to insinuate to the People that they are a Parcel of Schismatics and Republicans, and indeed what else are all the Protestant *Church of England* Men but Schismatics from our holy Church; and to be for a mix'd Monarchy is to be for a Commonwealth: For a King bound by Laws, Promises and Oaths is no more than a *Stadtholder*. Now, if (by making a Bustle and deceiving the Ministry by some cunning Addresses) we can but get a new *House of Commons*, to our Mind, before the People's Eyes are open'd to see what we drive at, then we will force your Sister and the Lords to what we please; tho' as Matters at present stand) when we have once secur'd a House of Commons, I am for doing Things gradually at first; we design to begin with disabling her, from having at any Time the Service of the Dissenters, (under the Pretence of purging the Church of Hypocrites). This if well manag'd and improved will make some of the *Dissenters* unable, and the rest unwilling to assist their Queen, create a Hatred between them, make them appear more odious to all other People, and raise a Jealousie in the *Scotch*, for then we shall privately suggest to them, that all their Liberties are struck at, and their native Rights will be taken from them, and hereby we hope we shall stir them up to a Civil War: But if all this will not engage them to it, then we shall put the Parliament upon setting up a new Court of Conscience, taking away thereby from all the Dissenters in *England*, that which they call a Toleration, disabling them from preaching or hearing, or so much as having a Vote for a *Parliament-Man*. But if this will not set them together by the Ears, that they may weaken one another, so as that we may be enabled thereby to restore your Majesty, then we are resolv'd as the most infallible way to accomplish our Design, to persuade the *Commons* to break the Union in giving an absolute Toleration of Episcopacy in *Scotland*, for tho' the *Episcopal* Clergy have a Toleration there already, I mean those that will take the Oaths to the Queen, yet

( 10 )  
they have not such a Toleration as is inconsistent with and destructive of their establish'd Church, and that is the only thing wanting there to do our Business; for if once the *Bishops* in *Scotland* (especially your Majesties Friends) can do as they do in *England*, exercise a *Diocessan* Jurisdiction, it will so directly clash with the establish'd Church and their *Synod*, that one must unavoidably give Way to the other; and then we shall ask the *Scotch*, if the *English* have not hereby broke the *Union*, and left them at Liberty to set up a King of their own; and who (can they expect) will be more able to protect them and chastise the Perfidiousness of the *English* then your Majesty, with the Assistance of your most *Christian* Ally?

I know we have many Friends in *Scotland* that would be glad of such an Opportunity to restore your Majesty, and if once you get settled there by the Friendship of the *Kirk*, by making them believe you are become a true Convert to the *Protestant* Religion, you will have all the *Protestants* in *England* that are for Non-Resistance and the Right-Line, set aside their present Act of Succession and make you their King also, and when you are firmly fix'd you may in a little Time make your self as absolute as you please; and command all their Laws to be burn'd by the Hands of the common Hangman, and by the Help of *High-Church* in both Kingdoms, new model the State, and then bring back again that [once] obedient People into the Bosom of our holy Church.

But these things cannot be brought about without first dividing them by all the Methods aforesaid, and by undermining the *Possessor's Title*, by a warm and most neat way of preaching to the People, that it is a damnable Sin to resist their Prince upon any Pretence whatever, for if we can but generally perswade them heartily to believe this Doctrine, they will naturally reflect upon their late horrid Rebellion (which the *Low Church* and *Dissenters* call a Revolution) and thereupon conclude, that it was a damnable Sin for them to resist your dear Father, who (no body can deny) was  
their

their lawful Prince, and that by the divine Right too, And 'tis plain enough we mean no other but such Princes, for we reckon there have been none but Usurpers since they rebelliously forc'd him to leave his Kingdoms, tho' we must dissemble a little now and then with our Enemies, and when we are call'd to an Account for such Doctrine, (for our own Safety) we are forced to tell them, we mean the present Queen also, But by a little Reserve in our Minds we intend our gracious Queen *Mary* now at *St. Germain's*; and indeed we wonder how any can think we mean her whom they call their Queen, when they know our Principles are such, that her Father held his Crown by a divine Right, that he could not be resisted upon any Pretence whatever, and was accountable to none but God. Now by what Right could *England* then resist his Majesty for adopting you for his Son, and making you his next immediate Successor, &c. Therefore she that keeps you out of the Throne is a Usurper, or else they that justify the Title of your Sister *Ann* must own that heretical Doctrine, that it is lawful for a People to resist their Kings when they (contrary to Laws and Coronation Oaths) overturn the Constitution in Church and State, and illegally destroy their Subjects; but what good *Catholick* can hear such Doctrines mention'd, without the utmost Abhorrence? For what tho' your Father for the good of the Church would wrong his own Daughters of their Title to the Crown next and immediately after his own Decease, was that, or any other thing he could do a sufficient Pretence for his People (and his own Daughter) to join with the Prince of *Orange*, that came to resist him? Then, if we can but thus convince these Hereticks, that in resisting your Father upon any Pretence whatsoever, they were guilty of a damnable Sin, they will consequently see of themselves, that they live in a most damnable Sin so long as they keep your Majesty from the Crown, which your Father intended for, and bequeathed to you, as the only Method he could think of, to restore and secure our

holy Church and to root out the *Northren* Heresy, and that therefore they will remain as guilty and as liable to Damnation, 'till by calling home your Majesty, and dethroning her who never was, nor never can be Queen (unless you should die before her intestate and leave no Child) I say they must needs see they are in a damnable State, 'till by doing this they shew their Repentance, and their Readiness to make what Restitution they can to injured Majesty: And 'tis well if they can be forgiven upon these Terms, for having sin'd so heinously against their Consciences, and their avowed Principles.

For even *High Church* (tho' none of those that were throughly Catholick) were as guilty as any of the rest, in resisting and driving your Father from his Kingdoms, upon a Pretence of his acting contrary to their Laws: But I have found this a very costly and hazardous Undertaking to me and my Friends; and have been forced to use Abundance of Art, and sometimes self-contradictions, that I might have a Hole to creep out at, whenever the Hereticks should pretend to catch me; and when they have seen thro' the Paint, I have pleaded my having taken the Oaths to the Queen, and told them of many fine Things I have often said of her: Nay, this Design has plung'd me into such Difficulties, that to save my self, I have been constrain'd several Times to call Heaven to witness to notorious Lies, and sometimes am afraid, That this our glorious Design of restoring your Majesty, and extirpating the *Northern Heresy*, will occasion not only my own Ruin, but the Ruin of several of our Friends also in *Great Britain*.

*Lewis*. Be not discouraged, dear Doctor, you have hitherto acted with zeal and uncommon Fortitude; and pray be assured, and let the rest of our Friends also know, That you and they, shall not want Men, Money or Arms so long as we have any.

'Tis more than probable, that we must have made Peace with the present Possessor, and her Allies, upon bad Terms (to us) before this, if you had not once  
more

more put Life into our People, by the late Hopes you gave, and you rejoyce our Heart with the Prospect you still give us of a Rupture in *England*.

We trust nothing of Conscience troubles you; for you know, as our holy Father has given all a Dispensation to do any thing for the good of the Church, and for the Conversion of Souls, so it is in his Power to forgive any Sin; tho' 'tis our Opinion, if you were to destroy as many Lives as we have done in this glorious Cause, it cannot be a Sin.

*James.* Go on, dear Doctor, and depend on it, That as soon as we are well settled on our Throne, we will make you Primate and Metropolitan of *Great Britain*; and the Churches in all our Dominions, shall be conformable in every Punctilio to you: They that belong'd to the Societies for Reformation, shall themselves be reform'd by Fire, in *Smithfield*, as you would have them; and if any shall be so wicked as to differ from you, with Respect either to Church or State, you shall have a Power, not only to carry them to the Devil and his Angels, and their leave them in the Company they always took Delight to converse with, but it shall not be in the Power of any Man to deliver them from that dismal Place, till they have made their Peace with you: And because we think nothing too great, for a Person of your extraordinary Character and Worth, we further promise you, upon the Word of a King, that when the present *Pope* dies, you shall have our utmost Interest (and that of our dear Ally and Patron, his most *Christian Majesty*) to succeed him. That having also then the Keys of Heaven, in your keeping, you may let in and shut out whom you please; and will any Power on Earth pretend to reverse or dispute any Sentence you shall think fit to pass? And who would not run the Hazards you are still like to meet with in doing your Duty, when you have the Prospect of such Rewards? Which if you should miss, you would however merit the highest Place in Heaven, by suffering in so glorious a Cause; and your Name would be recorded in the largest Characters,

racters, among the noblest Saints in our Church, and  
 be had in everlasting Remembrance. What we say  
 to you, we would be understood to intend to all our  
 zealous Friends in *Great Britain* (of the true Catholick  
 Religion) who are of equal Courage with your self,  
 tho' you must and shall be the first taken care of: But  
 there are many of them that are under a Mistake; they  
 scruple swearing to the Possessor, and by that Means  
 incapacitate themselves from doing us many Services  
 which otherwise they might do; for notwithstanding  
 their taking the Oaths to her, we shall still be assured,  
 that they did not do it in the Sense of the Words read  
 to them by the Hereticks, but in a quite contrary  
 Sense, if they do but warmly apply themselves to  
 overthrow the Possessor's Title, by preaching Damna-  
 tion to all those that believe a Prince may be resisted  
 upon any Pretence whatever: But as to the Opinion  
 of some of our Friends, That we should not attempt  
 a Restoration till the Possessor dies; we cannot ap-  
 prove of that Counsel, because we and our younger  
 Sister may happen to die before her, and our *Royal*  
*Father* being already dead, there can be no more of us,  
 and then what will become of the true *Roman Catholick*  
 Faith in those Kingdoms of ours, if once the Elector  
 of *Hanover* get Footing there: Pray consider this  
 well, but communicate it to none of the *High-Church*,  
 except to those only that are altogether of our Mind  
 in the Matters of Religion; as to others of the *High-*  
*Church*, that have a favourable Opinion of our holy  
 Religion, and seem inclinable to make some further  
 Advances towards a Reconciliation with our holy  
 Church, but are not fully resolv'd; pray assure them,  
 that the Church shall always be model'd and govern'd  
 as they would have it, and they shall be uppermost:  
 And to gain the Love of the *Low-Church*, tell them  
 privately, that the Elector of *Hannover* is a *Presbyte-*  
*rian*, and that we are really Protestant, and of the  
*Church of England*, tho' we think it not proper pub-  
 lickly to own it in *France*, where we are under so ma-  
 ny Obligations to his most Christian Majesty; but as  
 soon

soon as they shall think fit to restore us, we will make a most solemn Renunciation of the *Romish* Religion, and swear to govern them by Law, and to maintain the true Protestant Religion in all our Dominions, as now establish'd: But if the Hereticks should be so cunning, as to tell you, our Father did all this, and yet perform'd nothing of it; you may answer, He was old, and fix'd in a Religion, which indeed absolv'd him from Oaths and Promises made to Hereticks; but we are young and had our Religion to chuse a while ago, and for the Sake of three Kingdoms, we will be of any, or no Religion, even what our Subjects would please to have us. Thus you must accommodate us to all where you think you may make any Profelites.

Farewell dear Doctor, we wish you a quick and safe Return to *England*, and hope none of the Hereticks will have mis'd you; have us kindly recommended to all Friends, be as expeditious as Prudence will permit, in all your Managements for our Service, and let us hear from you as often as you can. But in all ~~the~~ Companies for the future be upon the Reserve, for by some things you have let slip you have a little too plainly discovered your being a *Catholick*, and if that should be generally known, the Hereticks will suspect every thing you pretend to say about the Danger of the Church from false Brethren to be said with Design to serve us, and tho' that is and ought to be your Aim, we would have none let into that Secret but those of them that are at least enclining to a Reconciliation with our holy Mother the Church of *Rome*.

As to your Preaching, we advise you (till you have got a Parliament to your Mind) to forbear it for a while, except it be privately, and then only to such as you perfectly know ———; But if the present Parliament sit again, or such another be chosen, and they should stop the Mouths of our Friends, from preaching Damnation to all that re-

sit

sist their Prince upon any Pretence whatever, our Cause will be utterly ruin'd: For after many grand Consultations, we can think of no other Doctrine that can shake our Sisters Title, or so effectually engage the People one against another, and in the End make their Darling (whom the *low Church* call their Queen) hatefull to them.

## La Fin couronne l'Ouvre.

**I** T. H. do solemnly declare, that I have sold in Fourteen Weeks time above Five Thousand of the following Book, (and that any Person may read it three Days for nothing, provided they do not damage it) and that I have had but one return'd, in above Three Thousand which I have sold of this last Impression, tho' they had them upon the abovesaid Terms.

The Judgment of whole Kingdoms and Nations, concerning the Rights, Power and Prerogative of Kings, and the Rights, Privileges, and Properties of the People:

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Written by a true Lover of the Queen and Country, who wrote in the Year 1689. in Vindication of the Revolution, in a Challenge to all *Jacobites*, which was answer'd and printed with a Reply annex'd to it; and who wrote in the Year 1690. against absolute *Passive Obedience*, and in Vindication of the Revolution; in a Challenge to Sir R. *PEstrange*, Dr. *Sherlock*, and eleven other Divines; to which no Answer ever was made, which Challenges and Answer are to be seen in the first Volume of State Tracts in Folio, printed in the Year 1705. who now challenges Dr. *Hicks*, Dr. *Aueroury*, Dr. *Welton*, Mr. *Milbourn*, Mr. *Higgins*, Mr. *Lestey*, Mr. *Collier*, Mr. *Whaley* of *Oxford*, and the great Champion Dr. *Sacheverell*, or any *Jacobite* in Great Britain to answer this Book.

The third Edition corrected, with Additions.

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